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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

ISRAEL 'NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT' INTERNAL CONFLICTS VIEWED

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 36, 5 Sep 84 p 9

[Article by Igor' Belyayev: "Israel: Seeking a Government"]

[Text] Last Friday I heard a report that agreement had been reached in Tel Aviv on the formation of a government of national unity. According to the report, the prime minister during the first half of the upcoming 4 year term will be Peres, the head of the Labor party, and during the final 2 years the head of the Likud party, Shamir.

Only a day later it became clear that Shamir had exceeded his authority and made too many concessions. As a result the negotiations were renewed. Among the points at issue was who would be named the Minister of Defense in the new government. Naturally, Peres's backers advocated a Labor representative and even named a candidate, General Rabin, formerly the Israeli ambassador in Washington for many years. Likud backers named Arens, replacing Sharon, who had also been a former Israeli ambassador in Washington.

It is not difficult to solve the complicated political puzzle posed to the Israeli establishment by the July Knesset elections. The question amounts whether it is possible to reconcile the irreconcilable. Peres and Shamir are arguing about the war in Lebanon. Should Arens be named the new defense minister the war in Lebanon will not, to put it mildly, be wound down. This means that Peres, with his eyes on the prime minister's seat, will once again make major concessions. It is known that on issues such as the continuation of building settlements on occupied Arab territories and the return of these territories, i.e. on the key issues for a Mideast settlement, the Labor leader has already conceded. Now in question is his promise to pull Israeli troops out of Lebanon within 3-6 months.

Frankly it is difficult to imagine anything more historically illogical than the current Peres-Shamir discussions. To elaborate on this thought it is necessary to remove oneself from the current events in Tel Aviv and recall the events that took place at the European UN headquarters in Geneva in August. At that time, a meeting of almost 100 nongovernmental organizations took place to discuss the Palestinian problem. They included UN representatives, delegates from the Arab countries and from Israel. Also participating were

Americans, West Europeans, delegates from the Soviet Union and from other socialist countries. The number of representatives of religious organizations was especially evident.

I have had previous opportunities to participate in such meetings. Frequently the discussions degenerate into mutual attacks and insults. This time it was different. Israelis and Palestinians, Arabs, Europeans and Americans spoke about the necessity for achieving, as soon as possible, peace in the Middle East, and a truly just resolution of the Palestinian problem. The representatives of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization sat at the same table and spoke into the same microphone. Moreover, the ideas brought forth were far from radical. This was the first such occasion in my memory and, I admit, it was a bit surprising. But everything falls into place with some reflection. After all, the "longest war" of Israel in Lebanon, the recent U.S. defeat there and the major NATO countries have exerted a decisive corrective influence on events in the Middle East. The resistance of the Lebanese and the Palestinians, the courageous and harsh confrontation of Syria with the aggressor, all have made it necessary to take a new look at the possibility and, moreover, the necessity of resolving the Palestinian problem.

No one in Geneva was surprised when one of the participants in the meeting, an Israeli, proposed the immediate gathering of 10 million signatures in support of a Soviet proposal for the convening of an international conference on the Middle East. It was decided that on 29 November 1984 in New York the campaign to collect the signatures will begin. This is the same day when, 37 years ago, the UN General Assembly adopted the resolution dividing Palestine into two states, Arab and Jewish. With a minute of silence the participants also honored the memory of the victims of the heinous massacres in Sabra and Shatila.

But what is going on in Tel Aviv? They are arguing there whether to continue with, or terminate the war in Lebanon. This, at the same time that large numbers of Israelis are calling upon them to take a step in the right direction, i.e. towards coexistence with the Arabs, a resolution of the Palestinian problem and a just and all encompassing settlement in the Middle East. But the Israeli establishment is deaf to their calls. Labor, before the eyes of an amazed public, is turning into Likud-2.

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NATIONAL

HISTORY OF SOVIET COUNTERPROPAGANDA EXPERIENCE ANALYZED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 9, Sep 84 (signed to press 31 Sep 84) pp 45-60

[Article by professor V.I. Kas'yanenko, doctor of historical sciences: "The Party Struggle Against Falsification of the Theory and Practice of Socialist Communal Living in the USSR (1917-1937)"]

[Text] In the face of the growing influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the authority of real socialism, the bourgeoisie and its ideologues are making enormous efforts to disparage the worldwide-historic significance of the theory and practice of scientific communism. Here, they pay special attention to discrediting the socialist way of life, which they make the subject of sharp ideological struggle in the world arena. "Distorted information and the tendentious presentation of facts, passing things over in silence, half-truths and outright inexcusable lies--all these things," the CPSU Central Committee notes, "are brought into play in the calculations aimed at shaking the moral and political foundations of our society, undermining the unity and friendship of the peoples, and confusing some of the Soviet people, especially those who have not been fully formed politically and who have not yet passed through that essential school of life, labor and struggle for the cause of socialism and communism." [1]

The CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum pointed out the need actively to unmask anti-Sovietism, skillfully propagandize the Soviet way of life and the fundamental values of socialism, develop political vigilance in Soviet people, and reinforce their uncompromising attitude toward hostile propaganda and their ability to oppose the ideological sabotage of the class enemy and opportunist and revisionist attacks against real socialism. [2]

Carrying out the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee plenum, the party organizations, ideological establishments and mass information media are doing a great deal to strengthen the entire system of counterpropaganda and enhance the effectiveness of its internal and external functions. Leninist traditions and the rich historical experience of our party and of the international communist and workers' movement are playing a major role in this.

In this article an attempt is made to generalize historical experience in the party's struggle against falsification of the theory and practice of shaping

socialist communal living in the USSR in the transition period from capitalism to socialism.

* * * * *

The Great October laid the foundations for a start on the creation of a new, socialist civilization. And the question of attitudes toward it and to the way of life that it engendered immediately became the subject of a sharp class struggle. The ideologues of the bourgeoisie, the White emigres, the leaders of the right social democrats, the reactionary clergy and so forth recognized the danger of the infective example of the "Bolshevik experiment." All these forces of the old world took up arms against the new civilization. Imperialist propaganda and the mass information media invented and spread myths about violations of democracy in the land of the soviets, the "horrors of the Bolsheviks," and the hostility of the dictatorship of the proletariat to humanism, freedom of the individual and the rights of citizens. The false myths were interwoven with pseudoscientific theoretical investigations by the leaders of the right social democrats, the Mensheviks and the socialist revolutionaries. The coalition formed at that time between anti-Soviet forces under the slogans of struggle against the "dictatorship of the Bolsheviks" and for "democracy and freedom" in fact advocated the restoration of capitalist relations and the bourgeois way of life.

Right from the start the struggle by our party, led by V.I. Lenin, against bourgeois ideology and against the falsifiers of the theory and practice of the building of socialism was a most important factor in and precondition for the establishment of the socialist way of life in the USSR. In this struggle a fine example was provided by Lenin, who paid attention to every important statement made by class enemies and the Menshevik and socialist revolutionary yes-men in Russia, and by the right social democrats abroad. He constantly and carefully followed the foreign press and literature. [3] It was on his instructions that the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs for the first time (in March 1921) in counterpropaganda practice compiled a special compendium of slanderous publications in the foreign press and on foreign radio stations, against soviet power and the Bolsheviks. [4] Reporting this to the delegates of the 10th Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) Congress, Lenin drew attention to the planned and universal nature of the "worldwide approach" of a world press syndicate, 99 percent of which had been bought by the financial magnates. [5]

It was in conformity with law-governed patterns that during the first postrevolutionary years Lenin concentrated his attention primarily on the criticism of bourgeois literature and propaganda on questions of the political organization in the new society, proceeding from the premise that the question of power was the chief question of the revolution. Lenin constantly explained the reasons that the proletariat had seized power, what it intended to do and how it would embody socialist ideals in life, for the happiness and well-being of all workers.

In his speeches, articles and pamphlets of the post-October time Lenin passionately unmasked the class essence of bourgeois democracy and the vices of capitalist society. In particular he singled out America, where already

then there had been established "one of the first countries where such a deep gulf exists between the small handful of insolent billionaires, luxuriating in corruption and affluence, on the one hand, and millions of workers living forever on the edge of poverty, on the other." And, Lenin noted, it is not happenstance that world capitalism has launched against Soviet Russia "an unprecedentedly nervous and hysterical campaign" [6] in which the bourgeois American press has distinguished itself by its special hostility. And this was natural, for, in the assessment of J-H. Wilson (United States) "the Bolshevik experiment has posed a serious ideological threat to the American way of life." [7]

Criticizing bourgeois authors, Lenin revealed the Marxist understanding of dictatorship of the proletariat and of democracy, showed the historical mission of the working class and the Bolshevik party in the building of a new kind of life, and propagandized the Soviet Constitution. Of particular importance was his book "The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade," in which were unmasked the typical methods of slander against the life of the young Soviet state and against the social policy and practice of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks); and, moreover, a slander that was refined and concealed under a pseudo-Marxist phraseology.

The works of Lenin show the really scientific ways and principles in the building of socialism and the new way of life, and in overcoming the vestiges of the old society and bourgeois morals, customs and psychology. It was from Lenin that the party learned consistently to defend Marxist teaching on socialism, the economic and political foundations of socialist communal living, and the art of unmasking the sword-bearers of the bourgeoisie, no matter what the guise in which they operate. It was from Lenin that the party also learned the art of flexibility, so essential for revolutionaries, and the ability to attract to the side of the land of the soviets not only the firm supporters of socialism but even people from the liberal-pacifist strata who were capable of soberly considering the proletarian state and deriving profit from business relations with it.

Cynically taking advantage of the difficulties in the building of the new life, throughout the transition period the foreign ideological centers organized one anti-Soviet campaign of slander after another. The chief things in these campaigns were goals of restoration and the struggle against the socialist principles and standards on whose foundation a start had been made on shaping the new way of life. No crime existed that was not ascribed to the Bolsheviks and the popular masses that followed them. In 1922 the State Publishing House published in the series "Knowledge Is Power" the manifesto by the well-known French writer Henri Barbusse, addressed to the intelligentsia, in which he defended the theory and practice of socialism and our revolution. "All critical objections to communism," he wrote, "are based on lies... Lenin is a man deserving of the highest respect of our age. The creation of the Russian Federative Soviet Republic... is a major and very beautiful phenomenon in world history. This fact is leading mankind into a new phase of its development" [8] H. Barbusse called scoundrels and fools and snobs and servants of the old prejudices those writers who distorted the great ideals of communism and engaged in "concealment of the truth." [9]

Continuing the Leninist line of unmasking the falsifiers and slanderers, in 1926 the USSR People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs published the book "Anti-Soviet Forgeries." In this book documentary proof was adduced of the participation of government intelligence services from a number of European countries and the United States, and also White emigres, in the ideological sabotage against the Soviet state and the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) [VKP(b)]. [10]

Each new stage in the building of socialism evoked from its enemies a new flood of animosity and slander. The New Economic Policy (NEP) engendered special hopes of the restoration of the old systems in Russia and an activation of ideological efforts by international reaction. With unconcealed maliciousness the bourgeois press in the capitalist countries reported the "failure" of the Bolshevik program for the restructuring of the economy and of social and spiritual life. All the forces of the counterrevolution took cheer from the introduction of NEP. "It seemed to them," A.S. Bubnov noted, "that whereas they could not remove the Soviet authorities by means of a direct military attack and could not remove them 'by an explosion from within,' using NEP, with the aid of new tactics and making use of legal Soviet possibilities, they could seize power from the soviets on the sly, by taking root in all the pores of the Soviet state apparatus." [11] A scientific analysis of this tactic and of the features of party behavior and trends in the anti-Soviet camp in connection with NEP was made in the documents of the 12th party conference. [12] A number of publications by Soviet historians and publicists were devoted to unmasking the new methods and directions in the ideological and political struggle against the Soviet authorities. [13] These subjects were also dealt with in statements by progressive public figures abroad. [14]

The White emigres (totaling about 1.5 to 2 million people) played a particularly active role in the camp of the falsifiers and anti-Soviets. They had their own publishing houses and more than 1,000 journals. The White emigres provided the first cadres of professional falsifiers of the history of the October Revolution and the building of socialism. Poisoned with the venom of anti-Sovietism and united in the People's Labor Union (NTS), at their ludicrous congresses they drew up programs and methods for struggle against the Bolsheviks and the Soviet authorities. Even during the Thirties the NTS was sending saboteurs into the USSR and maintaining links with the Japanese, Polish and German-fascist intelligence agencies. [15] Clerical anticommunism gave them its blessing for these deeds. In one sermon, for example, the metropolitan Antony said "through the power invested in me from God I bless any weapon used against the red satanic power, and I remit the sins of all who stand in the ranks of the insurgent detachments or are at one with the people's avengers [fighting for] the Russian Christian cause. Most of all I bless any weapon of or work done by the 'National Brotherhood of Russian Truth,' which has already for some years waged a struggle in words and in deeds against the red Satan on behalf of God and Russia. May the grace of God descend on all who have joined these fraternal ranks or who come to the aid of the Brotherhood." [16]

Reactionary sociologists and journalists in the United States, England, France and other capitalist countries established close cooperation with the emigre ideological centers in the struggle against the Bolshevik Party and Soviet

power. Under the influence of emigre sources and concepts, an arsenal of stereotypes for lies was formed about the building of the new life in Soviet Russia. All the White emigre literature, and the works of American and West European economists and sociologists written on the basis of these stereotypes were of an openly slanderous nature and of no scientific value.

One feature of the ideological struggle during the Twenties was that our party was forced to work on two fronts, internal and external. Within the country those who supported the views of the emigres advocating recognition of Soviet power [smenovekhovtsy] predominated, along with essentially opportunist and capitulationist concepts that sowed distrust in the possibility of the building of socialism through their own efforts or discredited communist ideals. In the interests of the struggle against anti-Soviet trends, the party strove in every possible way to promote political activeness in the workers and to enhance all "work on scientific communist thought so as to gain the opportunity to pursue in a well-organized way the line of 'militant materialism' and all the ideology of revolutionary Marxism." [17] Pointing to the need to struggle on two fronts, the 15th VKP(b) Congress noted the unity of internal opposition and the "ultraleftist" opportunists in Germany, the Souvarine liquidators in France [Boris Souvarine was a former Comintern functionary--ed] and the social-democrat falsifiers. All of them were trying to isolate the USSR from the revolutionary proletariat in the West by spreading the obvious lie about a "degeneration of the party and Soviet power," and about "the increasing power of the kulaks [okulachivaniye] and a Thermidorian reaction." And here, the Combined Plenum of the VKP(b) Central Committee and Central Control Commission (July-August 1927) pointed out that arguments in favor of the slander "are totally derived from the ideological arsenal of our opposition." [18]

In its theoretical activity the VKP(b) generalized social practice in shaping the socialist way of life, defended its principles and values against the foreign falsifiers and internal ideological vulgarizers, and constantly exposed the vices of the capitalist system and the bourgeois way of life. The decisions of the conferences and plenums of the VKP(b) Central Committee and Central Control Commission and central committee decrees on questions of ideological-theoretical and propaganda work armed communists with political and methodological instructions and focused their criticism on the bourgeois and social-democrat falsifiers and on instilling in Soviet workers a sense of confidence and optimism and a sense of steadfastness and implacability toward the anti-Soviet campaigns of lies and slander.

One important factor in this struggle was party activity in overcoming the erroneous, vulgarizing views on problems in the shaping of socialist communal living and the steps it took to liquidate unemployment, wage leveling and extremes in the collectivization of agriculture, and to introduce real socialist principles and standards in the field of civic rights and freedoms. This was not only important for choosing the correct ways and methods for socialist transformations but also, and even more, because the distortions in these questions represented a source of distorted information about the life of Soviet society and were fertile ground for any kind of falsification.

Clarity was also brought to the question of whether assimilation of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress would lead to "omnivorousness"

in the field of culture and everyday life, which was essentially what Trotsky advocated in his calls "to unite socialist forms of life with American technology," and Bukharin, in his formula "Marxism plus Americanism," [19] plus certain sociologists with their proposals to cultivate "socialist business" within the USSR. [20] The concepts of "the extensive use of machine-based collectivism" and the "soulless worker" were severely criticized. [21]

One of the active defenders of socialist communal living and critic of the American way of life was A.V. Lunacharskiy. He delivered a decisive rebuff to foreign falsifiers [22] who had depicted socialism as a regime of "the collectivization of man" right up to complete denial of his right to a private life. Lunacharskiy defended the foundations of the new way of life--humanism, true collectivism, the harmonious development of the individual, social optimism and a creative attitude toward labor.

M. Gorkiy and V. Mayakovskiy were implacably negative toward the American way of life. Characterizing the egoism and the amoral way of action and way of thinking by American smart dealers and their distorted ideas about happiness, M. Gorkiy wrote: "There are many energetic people but in each face one sees only the teeth. That inner freedom, that freedom of the soul does not shine in the faces of people. And that energy without freedom reminds one of the cold glitter of a knife waiting to be sharpened. It is the freedom of putting weapons blindly in the hands of that Yellow Devil--Gold." [23] After he had visited America V.V. Mayakovskiy warned that "if a muzzle of humanism is not fitted on technology it will turn on man and bite him." [24]

As the socialist transformations became more profound in all spheres in the life of society the party and its theoretical cadres had greater opportunities for strengthening antifalsifier and counterpropaganda activities. The literature of the Twenties not only generalized practical work in the building of real socialism but also refuted with reliable factual and documentary material the slanderous fabrications about Soviet reality, and it reproduced an honest picture of the shaping of the socialist way of life. [25] It promoted the indoctrination of a correct perception of the social processes taking place within the USSR and of their patterns and difficulties, and it unmasked the false nature of bourgeois science and propaganda. Abroad, it was noted in a documentary collection produced by the USSR People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, little credit is now given to the old fairy tales about a certain country of barbarians; the posters with the traditional man with a knife held in his teeth have little effect on anyone." [26]

Many historians acted together with party publicists and cultural figures as direct participants in the ideological fight. At the international forums, and also in the press, Soviet scholars defended truly scientific positions in questions concerning the organization of public life on just, socialist foundations. [27]

One important factor in the struggle against the bourgeois falsifiers and revisionists was the class solidarity of the workers, bequeathed by the great teachers of the proletariat, primarily the worker-communists in the capitalist countries. Unmasking the bourgeois lie and defending the land of the soviets,

they thus strengthened their own positions in the struggle for a better future and for the cohesion of the broad working masses around the working class.

The mass arrival of foreign workers in our country was a noteworthy event in the history of the ideological-political struggle by the international proletariat. On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Great October (1927), an international congress named "Friends of the USSR" took place in Moscow, in which about 1,000 people participated. Having seen with their own eyes and after receiving the necessary information, many of the guests in the land of the soviets became convinced of the prejudice and lies of bourgeois propaganda and sociologists. Henri Barbusse called it "the congress of witnesses" to the life of the Soviet people. The congress passed its own special sentence on "the liars and slanderers." [28]

The VKP(b) supported in every possible way the aspirations of foreign workers to familiarize themselves with the life and everyday existence of Soviet people, and assisted the trade unions in every possible way to set up the necessary links. [29] During the period 1928-1933, on the invitation of the AUCCTU alone 110 workers' delegations from Germany, England, the United States and France visited the USSR. In turn, delegations of Soviet workers, although subjected to the great difficulties that the ruling circles in the capitalist countries and the leaders of the "yellow" trade unions placed on them, also traveled abroad. The tales told by Soviet people about their life were greeted with enthusiasm by their class brothers, and they strengthened proletarian solidarity. [30]

While overcoming the opposition of internal counterrevolution and delivering a rebuff to the attacks of international imperialism, the renegades of Marxism and the White emigre slanderers, the Communist Party and the Soviet authorities confidently and consistently accomplished revolutionary transformations in the spheres of economics, culture, everyday life, and social and moral and national relations.

The principles and standards of socialist communal living were being spread on increasing scales and at accelerating rates.

Already in the Twenties it became clear that in order to establish the socialist way of life in the USSR it was not only essential to have appropriate material conditions and law and order, and to carry out ideological-indoctrination work among the population. It was also necessary to conduct constant and purposeful ideological and counterpropaganda work against the falsifiers and revisionists. By making a great fuss about the range of problems in the way of life and bringing ideological opposition to the VKP(b) to the forefront, the bourgeois ideologues were reckoning on striking a blow against the theory and practice of socialist communal living in the USSR. However, these hopes and calculations were in vain. The fraternal communist parties and the Comintern acted as consistent internationalists and passionate defenders of real socialism. The combined forces of international solidarity and the VKP(b)'s active ideological and counterpropaganda struggle defeated the falsifiers and anti-Soviets. The establishment of socialist communal living moved ahead confidently in accordance with Lenin's plan for the transformation of society.

* * * * *

Under conditions in which the hopes of the world bourgeoisie for a degeneration of the Soviet system were dashed, while the party set course toward socialist reconstruction, the capitalist world initiated new ideological attacks against the new society that was being built. Falsely interpreting the the historic mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class essence of Soviet democracy, the apologists of the bourgeois order accused the Bolshevik Party of coercive methods of leadership and the suppression of spiritual freedom and creativity. In the processes of the socialization of production, the country's industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture and the cultural revolution, which all played an enormous role in creating conditions for the shaping of socialist communal living, they overemphasized only the temporary difficulties and shortcomings.

An unprecedented cynicism and open slander and hostility marked the ideological-political campaign about the alleged existence in the USSR of "forced labor," "contradictions" between the peoples, Soviet dumping and so forth. The delegates to the 6th Congress of Soviets of the USSR delivered a worthy rebuff to the organizers and inspirers of this malicious campaign, unmasking the slander against the Soviet way of life and the attempts by international reaction to organize against the USSR "a crusade headed by the Pope in Rome." [31] The congress materials contained graphic factual material testifying to the free, selfless labor of Soviet people, the mass enthusiasm of the workers and kolkhoz farmers, a steady rise in the cultural level and improvements in the population's everyday conditions, and the growing friendship of and cooperation between the peoples of the USSR. The passionate speeches made by the delegates to the 6th Congress of Soviets of the USSR were a graphic demonstration of the workers' full support for the policy of the Communist Party and a concrete manifestation of their participation in counterpropaganda.

The progress in all spheres in the life of Soviet society on the one hand increased the interest in the USSR, while on the other, it reinforced anti-Soviet trends among the ruling circles in the capitalist states and among the ideologues of the bourgeoisie. "The illusions about capitalism's omnipotence in general, and the omnipotence of North American capitalism in particular, are being dispelled," the central committee noted in its report to the 16th VKP(b) Congress. "The victory songs in honor of the dollar and capitalist rationalization are becoming weaker. Pessimistic howls about capitalism's 'mistakes' are becoming stronger. And the 'universal' fuss about the 'inevitable demise' of the USSR is being replaced with a 'universal' malicious hissing about the need to punish 'that country'..." [32] The reaction to the proclaimed aims and results of the first Soviet five-year was indicative. "The very word 'five-year plan,' just like in their time the words 'Bolshevik' and 'soviet,' penetrated in its Russian pronunciation and was written on the pages of the international press and received the rights of citizenship in English, French and other languages." [33]

At first the five-year plan was presented by the press in the West as a "fantasy," a "Bolshevik Don Quixote," and "project mania." Many foreign authors tried to "prove" the failure of the five-year plan and the unrealistic nature of its economic and social tasks. The impression was created, the Soviet publicist A. Tivel' wrote, that "some kind of world bourgeois agitprop [agitation and propaganda department--ed] has issued a directive to the newspapers of the most varied ilk." [34, 35]

The appearance of facts of Soviet democracy such as criticism and self-criticism--a powerful method in the building of socialism and indoctrinating the masses in the spirit of the principles of the new way of life--was remarkable but beyond the comprehension of the bourgeois sociologists. In the capitalist countries some deliberately took the critical material in the Soviet press to presage the collapse of the world's first proletarian state, others did it through ignorance. "The Bolsheviks are ruining the country and a great and gifted people": such was the thought in the hysterical howling of the bourgeois press.

As the eminent English public figures Sidney and Beatrice (Bebb) noted, the enemies of Bolshevism published whole tomes on the basis of selected quotations from the "official newspapers." The compilers of these selections assure us that they have allegedly shown the "complete and hopeless failure of each sector of Soviet management." [36]

Shamelessly parasitizing critical material from the Soviet press, the sociologists in the West overemphasized in every possible way the negative facts, difficulties and shortcomings in the building of the new life in the USSR, trying thus to overshadow the labor heroism, political enthusiasm and social creativity of the masses. Here, in order to besmirch the Soviet way of life and the economic and social policy of the Soviet state, they made use of isolated facts that had in fact been condemned by the party and the Soviet public. [37] At the same time, upon their return to their own country, many foreign journalists, specialists and tourists provided quite admiring characterizations of the transformations taking place in the Soviet people's way of life and the activity of the VKP(b) in the building of socialism. Sidney and Beatrice (Bebb), for example, compared the role of the VKP(b) and the Soviet state to that of an engineer, "who has taken on a tremendous and difficult construction project" in order to change the Russian people's way of life." [38]

The successful fulfillment by the Soviet people of the tasks of the 1st five-year plan exerted a great influence on the course of the ideological struggle in the world arena. Against the background of a world economic crisis, rising unemployment and a deterioration of the living conditions for workers in the capitalist countries, the economic and social results of the 1st Five-Year Plan were particularly impressive. They delivered a crushing blow to the falsifiers of the Soviet way of life. In this connection, a trade union weekly published in Glasgow recommended to its readers that they get out of their heads the fantastic, terrible and absurd stories that were being told by the English bourgeois newspapers about the USSR, which had built "a new society on a healthy foundation." [39] The Western press noted that Soviet Russia is "the strongest fortress in the sphere of the human spirit." [40] Even K. Kautskiy was unrestrained in his expressions of amazement on behalf of all those who "up to now have had serious doubts about the Bolshevik experiments." [41] The historic successes in the building of socialism, and the advantages of the new way of life in the USSR were recognized by Otto Bauer, even though he continued to address semihostile assessments and ideas at our country. [42]

By the mid-Thirties the most difficult period had passed in the party's struggle against the falsifiers of the theory and practice of socialist communal living

in the USSR. Internal opposition and deviations had been smashed ideologically. Having theoretically generalized the achievements in the building of socialism in the USSR, the 17th party conference (January 1932) and the combined VKP(b) Central Committee and Central Control Commission January Plenum in 1933 evoked a new upsurge of scientific thought and a desire on the part of social scientists to generalize experience in creating the material and spiritual foundations of socialist communal living. [43] Actual practical work itself had confirmed the scientific nature of Lenin's plans to build socialism and the correctness of the policy and organizational-indoctrination work of the VKP(b), under whose leadership a new way of life free from the exploitation of people had been shaped for the first time anywhere in the world.

Soviet economists and sociologists convincingly showed the advantages of the socialist organization of labor and the sources of mass labor enthusiasm that were an expression of the new attitude toward labor under the conditions of the Soviet, socialist way of life. Under socialism, labor had become not only the source of income for the means of existence but also a manifestation of the abilities of the individual and a means of indoctrinating people in the spirit of collectivism and a high sense of morality and organization. [44]

The criticism of vulgar ideas about socialism made at the 17th VKP(b) Congress, and in particular about the principles of distribution of material blessing in a socialist society, was of fundamental significance. Those kinds of ideas whose basis was the view that considered socialism to be some kind of barracks where everyone was subordinated to the "principle" of leveling, had often been savored by bourgeois authors. However, it was noted in the accountability report of the VKP(b) Central Committee, "Marxists cannot be responsible for the ignorance and stupidity of bourgeois writers." [45]

The Leninist party's experience in the struggle to create and consolidate the foundations of socialist communal living and against its falsifiers was of enormous international significance, particularly in light of the growing threat from fascism and of a new world war. This was stated resoundingly in the documents of the 7th Comintern Congress (July 1935), which called upon the world proletariat to defend the USSR in every possible way and to activate efforts to unmask fascism. [46] The attention and efforts of the communist parties, including the VKP(b), were focused on criticism of the misanthropic ideology, morality and social practices of fascism and the inhuman way of life established by it, in particular in Germany. [47]

In the struggle against fascism and bourgeois and social-democrat falsifiers, the foreign communists showed themselves to be staunch political figures and consistent fighters for a true elucidation of life in Soviet society, and class brothers-in-arms to the workers of the USSR. The newspapers and journals of the fraternal parties provided objective information about the land of the soviets, often being subjected to all kinds of persecution on this account. In the struggle against slander aimed at the VKP(b) and the Soviet people, W. Foster, E. Thaelman, C. Zetkin, M. Thorez, K. Gottwald, (B. Shmeral'), W. Pieck, (M. Kashen), G. Dimitrov, H. Pollitt and other eminent figures in the international communist and workers' movement displayed examples of courage. Their verbal and press statements helped in spreading the truth about the USSR and socialist society and unmasked the false information about them.

In light of the impressive successes of the USSR and the Bolshevik Party in shaping a socialist way of life and its material and spiritual bases, W. Foster noted, "the campaigns of slander against the USSR have been dealt a perceptible blow." [48] According to Foster's definition, the system of capitalism, which was at that time dominant in the world, had suffered its first real defeat at the hands of a young socialist state in the person of the land of the soviets. [49] The 7th Comintern Congress stressed that "the USSR is becoming the country of the New Man, purposefully, cheerfully and joyously overcoming any difficulties and creative in great causes." [50]

* * * * *

There had, of course, been no event in the world since the Great October that caused so broad an international response as did the first Constitution of victorious socialism. Following the publication (in June 1936) of a draft of the new Constitution of the USSR for national discussion, there was an historically unprecedented international discussion of the best constitutional system for society, and of the rights and freedoms that would be guaranteed for the individual by a state that made an end to all kinds of exploitation. [51] An editorial in the journal KOMMUNISTICHESKIY INTERNATSIONAL stated: "To the hypocrites who slander socialism and try to mislead the masses by depicting the socialist system as a system of repression of human individuality and freedom, as a barracks system, as a regime of poverty and 'community good,' we respond: take a look at the Soviet Constitution and at the socialist state whose fundamental law this constitution is!" [52]

The provision in the USSR Constitution (article 126) on the Communist Party as the leading nucleus of all worker organizations in the Soviet Union evoked particularly malicious attacks from bourgeois "critics." For many years these attacks were part of the arsenal of the falsifiers' history of the USSR and the CPSU. [53]

Soviet social scientists propagandized the USSR Constitution actively and in a well-argued manner, and convincingly defended it against falsifications. The comparisons made between the USSR Constitution and the constitutions of the bourgeois states, and between the principles and foundations of the ways of life shaped by socialism and by capitalism, made at the 8th Extraordinary Congress of Soviets in November 1936 were convincing and effective. Books and articles by many Soviet scholars, for example, were devoted to this. [54]

The victory of socialism in the USSR was of tremendous political and ideological significance. It increased even more the attractive force of Marxism-Leninism for the workers and for progressive people throughout the world. The socialist way of life became the subject of analysis and specific comparisons with the conditions of people's existence in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries. And notwithstanding that in terms of a number of economic indicators the USSR still lagged behind the chief capitalist countries, nevertheless the advantages of our way of life for the workers were obvious to the whole world. The facts spoke for themselves: socialism guarantees a steady, progressive development of society in the interests of the man of labor, fraternal mutual aid and peace among peoples.

The victory of socialism made it possible for the social scientists to considerably expand the scales of their studies on the basis of analysis of social practice, and to activate the ideological assault on the falsifiers and revisionists. Despite several losses [izderzhki] resulting from the adverse effect of the personality cult, the experience gained by the social scientists in the ideological struggle was at the same time an important contribution to the ideological-scientific potential of the party.

Continuing the Leninist traditions, Soviet social scientists generalized the very rich experience gained in shaping socialist communal living in the land of the soviets and revealed the truly great role of the Communist Party in this process. [55]

In step with the affirmation of the socialist way of life in the USSR and the more complete revelation of its advantages, the ideological-political struggle about it increased in the world arena. Naturally, the scales of the VKP(b)'s counterpropaganda activity increased. The ideological sabotage and falsifier actions against Soviet communal living were passionately unmasked on a current basis on the pages of the newspapers and journals. The publication of scientific and publicist counterpropaganda literature increased. [56]

The historical fact of the victory of socialism in the USSR coincided with the 20th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The bourgeois and social-democrat press was forced to alternate lies with the truth and to write about the achievements of the Soviet economy, culture and way of life. What would have happened to European democracy if instead of socialism in Russia "capitalism had prevailed,... or tsarism, or fascism?" asked the Finnish social democrat (Zundstrem). "Soviet Russia," the Swiss socialist (Nikol) wrote at that time, "is a creation that is throwing down the gauntlet to the centuries. It has sent forth roots into the very deepest secret places of the human heart—that human heart which, since man became a thinking being, has striven for equality, justice and happiness for all." [57]

The best representatives of the working class and the progressive intelligentsia celebrated the triumph of socialism in the USSR as an event of worldwide-historic significance. The congresses of peace and friendship with the USSR in England, France, Czechoslovakia, Spain, the United States, Holland, Belgium, Sweden and Switzerland took place in overflowing halls. Those participating in these congresses and meetings expressed their solidarity with the Soviet people and rebuffed the slanderers of the USSR and the Soviet way of life. [58]

Analysis of the literature and documents of the VKP(b) shows that during the mid-Thirties a qualitatively new stage started in the struggle to defend the Soviet, socialist way of life against the falsifiers of the economic, sociopolitical, everyday and moral bases and principles that had already been embodied in practice in the life activity of tens of millions of workers in the USSR. The tenets on socialist communal living contained in our party's documents and the documents of the Comintern, and in the 1936 USSR Constitution, played an historic role in the analysis and generalization of VKP(b) experience in the building of socialism, in defending and propagandizing the advantages of socialist communal living in the USSR, and in the cause of indoctrinating Soviet workers in the spirit of its principles and standards.

Even then the advantages of the new way of life, compared with the capitalist way of life, were being proven in the Soviet literature, and the processes of radical changes in the moral-psychological makeup of the Soviet people and the shaping and augmentation of that moral potential whose foundation had been laid by the Great October, were being revealed. [59]

* * * * *

Throughout the entire transition period, in a complex internal and external situation, the VKP(b) acted as the organizer of the building of socialism and educator of the workers, and as the leader in their struggle for a new, socialist way of life, and as propagandist and defender of its principles, foundations and real achievements. The documents of the congresses, conferences and plenums of the VKP(b) Central Committee, and also the materials of the Comintern Executive Committee, played an historic role in mobilizing the efforts and means of the ideological establishments and propaganda cadres to the struggle against the falsifications of the theory and practice of socialist communal living in the USSR and against bourgeois anti-Soviet propaganda. The assessments and instructions contained in the documents of the 15th party conference and the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th party congresses were of political and methodological importance for the organization of counterpropaganda and for unmasking the lack of scientific foundation for the political designs and obvious falsifications and slanders against VKP(b) policy and the real achievements of socialism in the USSR. The Combined Plenum of the VKP(b) Central Committee and Central Control Commission that took place in January 1933, and the 8th Extraordinary Congress of Soviets of the USSR (in November and December 1936) occupy a special place in the history of the party's counterpropaganda activity. Objectively assessing the achievements of socialism in creating new forms of communal living, and actively defending them against the falsifications and slanders, those participating in the party forums passionately defended Lenin's concept of socialist communal living and propagandized its advantages and basic values.

At the 18th VKP(b) Congress, for example, a convincing criticism was made of non-Marxist views and distorted ideas about democracy and citizens' freedoms in the USSR at the time of the victory of socialism. "The bourgeois democrats," Ye.M. Yaroslavskiy said on this subject at the congress, "have repeatedly tried to contrast the freedom of the individual in capitalist society with the situation of the individual in the USSR, where this individual allegedly sacrifices his own interests to the interests of society... It is precisely in socialist society that real freedom of the individual is forged, because we are building this society not in order to infringe on personal freedom but in order to make the human individual feel himself truly free. That is why in this society a new generation, new people are growing up who already bear within themselves the outlines of future mankind." [60]

By building up efforts to shape a communist world outlook in the workers and to train cadres theoretically, by instilling in Soviet people ideological-political vigilance and an uncompromising attitude toward hostile propaganda, and by improving the forms and methods of proper counterpropaganda, during the Twenties and Thirties our party successfully defended the theory and practice of creating socialist communal living in the USSR. A decisive role

in this was played by the working class, whose creative energy, labor heroism, social creativeness and political activeness insured the affirmation of ideological-political unity in Soviet society and the firm economic and sociopolitical bases of our propaganda and counterpropaganda. The party armed the working class with a knowledge of the laws of social development and class struggle, and with correct ideas about the reasons for and logic of the ideological fight in the world arena, and an understanding of the real aims and methods of hostile propaganda.

Guided by the political and methodological landmarks found in Lenin's works and the documents of the party, the social scientists unmasked the myths and lies of the bourgeois and social-democrat ideologues and falsifiers, and through their publications exerted an influence on the progressive foreign scientific community. Step by step they gained a deeper knowledge of the law-governed patterns in socialist creation, improving practical work in unmasking the anticommunist falsifiers and organizing counterpropaganda in questions of socialist communal living. They marched in combat order into polemic with ideological adversaries, literally pinning them to the ignominious pillory of history. Their statements were redolent with indignation or with passion, according to the heat of the class struggle.

Historical experience teaches that the main criterion for ideas, views and criticism is practice, which has completely unmasked and dismissed the many falsified inventions about and distortions of Soviet reality. The entire front of anticommunists was forced to reckon with the fact that real socialism did exist in the USSR, and with the powerful counterpropaganda strength of the party and Soviet social science.

The experience gained by our party against the falsification of the theory and practice of socialist communal living in the USSR was of permanent significance. It testified to the strength and vitality of Marxist-Leninist ideas and principles in the organization of society on socialist foundations, and to the correctness of the policy of the party and the Soviet state and the methods and forms they used to organize and educate the masses for the purpose of creating a new, socialist civilization. This experience became a tried and tested ideological tool for the party's struggle against falsifiers in the world arena in subsequent years.

Even in our time bourgeois historiography and propaganda continue, as they did fifty or sixty years ago, to experience a profound and chronic crisis. Many of their representatives find themselves in the ranks of the falsifiers, having buried in oblivion the appeals from honest scholars about objective attitudes toward the revolutionary transformations in the USSR and the role of the CPSU in the accomplishment of these transformations. The political and gnosiological reasons for this crisis are obvious: the class, anticommunist positions of scholars, the desire to retain the old world and the conditions and way of life for the privileged, and the limitations of bourgeois methodology.

The practice of ideological struggle has once again convincingly confirmed the thought expressed by F. Engels: "The bourgeoisie converts everything into terms of wares, and hence, history also. Because of its very nature and because

of the conditions of its existence, it is inherent that it falsifies any kind of ware: so, too, it has falsified history. For the best thing is to settle the account using the historical work in which the falsification of history corresponds best with the interests of the bourgeoisie." [61]

The time is long since past when the public of the bourgeois world could be told, with some hope of success, the cock-and-bull stories to the effect that the dictatorship of the proletariat is allegedly capable only of punitive functions, that there are no civic rights or freedoms in the USSR, that women have common husbands and morals have been liquidated, that there is leveling in distribution and everyday life, and finally, that socialism is a "barracks" that suppresses the individual and that the Bolsheviks are destroyers of both material and spiritual values, and so forth. No one now believes these cock-and-bull stories, and the older generation in the foreign progressive public recalls with indignation the former practice of direct falsification and coarse slander. It must be acknowledged that even then the ideological influence of these cock-and-bull stories and of disinformation on world opinion did not, as a rule, achieve its ends. And under present-day conditions, with the obvious outstanding achievements of real socialism and the availability of powerful mass information media, it is impossible to distort reality so grossly and deceive the public.

However, the political purpose and methodological constructs of present-day falsifiers of the Soviet way of life differ little from those of their predecessors.

Now, too, no matter what the problems of the history or present-day activity of the CPSU that the anticommunists and falsifiers write about, and no matter what their judgements, assessments or conclusions, they largely match the judgements and assessments of anti-Soviet historiography of the Twenties and Thirties. The class aims and political purpose of the falsifiers of both the past and the present have remained the same--to undermine and discredit the principles and foundations of the socialist system and way of life and the policy and leading role of the CPSU, and to defend the capitalist systems by means of falsifications and slander against the achievements of real socialism. The historical experience gained in work on the theoretical and practical questions of shaping the socialist way of life in the USSR by the party during the transition period teaches that a new way of life can be successfully created and consolidated only given systematic struggle against bourgeois ideology, morals and propaganda, and with the active neutralization of ideological sabotage from the hostile capitalist world.

The historical experience of counterpropaganda gained in questions of socialist communal living in the USSR is important not only in the sense of preventing ideological sabotage but also for the ideological-political and patriotic indoctrination of the workers, especially youth. "It is important," K.U. Chernenko noted at the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum, "that the understanding of the true value of the historic achievements of Soviet society not be stereotyped in people's consciousness, and that the proud sense of being a citizen of the new world not be eroded, as Vladimir Mayakovskiy, said, by a fearful amortization--the amortization of the heart and mind. It is essential

to place the great attractive force of communist ideals more actively in the service of our educational aims." [62]

Enriching and perfecting the arsenal for the struggle against bourgeois ideology and revisionism, the party of Lenin has armed and is arming Soviet people with the invincible weapon of historical truth and a deep understanding of the laws of social development, and indoctrinating them in the spirit of implacability toward any falsification or distortions of the principles and standards of the socialist way of life.

As they continue to falsify the theory and practice of establishing socialist communal living in the USSR the ideologues of anti-Sovietism are trying to instill into the populations of their own countries the advantage of "pluralist forms of life activity." Recognizing the lack of prospects in the struggle against real socialism, imperialism is activating its own ideological aggressiveness, even resorting to a policy of military threats and nuclear blackmail. The experience of ideological struggle teaches that such adventurist means are doomed to failure.

Implementation of the policy worked out at the most recent CPSU Central Committee plenums--a policy aimed at further perfecting developed socialism--is insuring the advance of Soviet society along the road of communist creation and demonstrating even more convincingly the advantages of real socialism and its way of life and strengthening their attractive force.

FOOTNOTES

1. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s'yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee], Vol 13, 8th edition, Moscow, 1981, p 356.
2. "CPSU Central Committee Plenum 14-15 June 1983. Stenographic Record" Moscow, 1983, pp 194-195.
3. See, for example, "Vladimir Ilich Lenin. Biograficheskaya khronika" [Vladimir Ilich Lenin. A Biographical Chronicle], Vols 9-12. Moscow, 1978-1982.
4. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 43, p 123.
5. Ibid., p 125.
6. Ibid., pp 122, 126.
7. J-H. Wilson. "Ideology and Economics. U.S. Relations with the Soviet Union 1918-1933." Columbia 1974, p 5.

8. H. Barbusse. "With a Dagger in Their Teeth. (To the Intelligentsia)"
A translation, Petrograd, 1922, pp 40, 44.
9. Ibid., p 46.
10. "Antisovetskiye podlogi. Istoriya fal'shivok, faksimile i kommentarii"
[Anti-Soviet Forgeries. The History of Frauds, Facsimiles and Commentaries]
Moscow, 1926.
11. A. Bubnov. "Burzhuaznoye restavratorstvo na vtorom godu nepsa"
[Bourgeois Restoration in the Second Year of the New Economic Policy],
Petrograd, 1923, p 42.
12. "The CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions..." op. cit. Vol 2, 8th
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13. M.N. Pokrovskiy. "Kontrevolyutsiya za 4 goda" [Four Years of Counter-
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14. W. Foster. "The Russian Revolution." Chicago, 1921; (V.R. Bat'yel).
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15. For more detail on this see L.K. Shkarenkov. "Agoniya bey emigratsii"
[The Agony of the White Emigres], Moscow, 1981; N.N. Yakovlev. "TsRU
protiv SSSR" [The CIA versus the USSR], Moscow, 1983.
16. N.N. Yakovlev. op. cit. p 117.
17. "The CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions..." op. cit. Vol 2, p 395.
18. Ibid. Vol 3, 8th edition, Moscow, 1970, p 470; See also K. Tsetkin.
"International Influence of the Opposition to the VKP(b)." KOMMUNISTICHESKIY
INTERNATSIONAL No 52, 1927, No 1, 1928.
19. "Biznes. Sbornik Literaturnogo Tsentra Konstruktivistov" [Business. A
Collection of the Literary Center of the Constructivists], Moscow, 1929,
p 62.
20. Ibid., pp 50-64.
21. KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA 9, 10 May 1928; VOPROSY ISTORII No 4, 1982, p 36.

22. A.V. Lunacharskiy. "Vospitaniye novogo cheloveka" [Indoctrination of the New Man], Leningrad, 1928, p 44.
23. M. Gorkiy. Collected Works in 30 volumes. Vol 7, Moscow, 1950, p 10.
24. "Social Studies No 7. Methodological Studies of Everyday Life." Moscow, 1971, p 68.
25. A.V. Lunacharskiy. "Moral' s marksistskoy tochki zreniya" [Morality from the Marxist Viewpoint], Kharkov, 1925; A.V. Lunacharskiy. "O byte" [On Everyday Life], Moscow, Leningrad 1927; A.V. Lunacharskiy. "Kul'tura na Zapade i u nas" [Culture in the West and Here], Moscow, Leningrad, 1928; N.K. Krupskaya. "'O bytovykh voprosakh" [On Everyday Questions], A collection of articles. Moscow, Leningrad, 1930; Ye. Yaroslavskiy. "O partetike" [On Party Ethics], Leningrad, 1925; Ye. Yaroslavskiy. "Byt i moral' proletariata v perekhodnyy period" [The Everyday Life and Morals of the Proletariat during the Transition Period], Moscow, 1926; M.N. Lyadov. "Voprosy byta" [Questions of Everyday Life], Moscow, 1925; Ye. Kabo. "Ocherki rabochego byta. Opyt monograficheskogo issledovaniya domashnego rabochego byta" [Outline of Everyday Life. Experience from a Monograph Study of the Worker's Domestic life], Moscow, 1928; V. Shmidt. "Polozheniye rabochego klassa v SSSR" [Position of the Working Class in the USSR], Moscow, Leningrad, 1928; Ya.I. Gindin. "Professional'nyye soyuzy i bezrabotnitsa (1917-1927)" [The Trade Unions and Unemployment 1917-1927], Moscow, 1927; M.M. Romanov. "O likvidatsii bezrabotnitsy v SSSR" [The Liquidation of Unemployment in the USSR], Moscow, 1930; S.G. Strumilin. "Rabochiy byt v tsifrakh" [The Worker's Everyday Life in Figures], Moscow, Leningrad, 1926; N. Semashko. "Partiya i byt" [The Party and Everyday Life], Moscow, Leningrad, 1930; A.V. Artyukhin. "Na novom etape" [At a New Stage], Moscow, Leningrad, 1930; and others.
26. "Anti-Soviet Foregeries..." op. cit. p 8.
27. For more detail see A.Ye. Ioffe. "Mezhdunarodnyye svyazi sovetskoy nauki, tekhniki i kul'tury 1917-1932" [International Links of Soviet Science, Technology and Culture 1917-1932], Moscow, 1975, pp 250-265.
28. KOMMUNISTICHESKIY INTERNATSIONAL No 46, 1927, pp 9-14, No 48 pp 14-17, and No 51, pp 24-28.
29. "The CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions..." op. cit. Vol 3, p 400.
30. For more detail see: W. Muenzenberg. "Solidaritiet. Zehn Jahre Internationale Arbeiterhilfe, 1921-1931" [Solidarity. Ten Years of International Aid in Labor 1921-1931] Berlin, 1931, "Pervyy reys. Iz dnevnikov uchastnikov pervoy zagranichnoy ekskursii premirovannykh udarnikov SSSR" [The First Trip. From the Diaries of Those Participating in the First Excursion Abroad by Bonus-Winning Shock Workers of the USSR], Moscow, Leningrad, 1931; I.M. Lemin. "Mezhdunarodnyy proletariat na zashchitu SSSR" [The International Proletariat to the Defense of the USSR], Moscow, Leningrad, 1933; Ye. Vesenin and A. Svetlov. "Milliony Druzey" [Millions of Friends],

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31. "Sixth Congress of Soviets, 8 March-17 March 1931 in Moscow. Stenographic record." BULLETEN' No 1, p 14.
32. "The 16th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), 26 June-13 July 1930. Stenographic record." Vol 1, Moscow, 1935, p 41.

At the congress there was criticism of the book by the Menshevik emigre St. Ivanovich "The VKP. Ten Years of the Communist Monopoly," in which slander against the party of Lenin was interwoven with myths about its degeneration, the absence of democracy and so forth (pages 162-163).
33. A. Tivel'. "Nashi vragi o pyatiletke" [Our Enemies on the Five-Year Plan], Moscow, Leningrad, 1930, p 3.
- 34, 35. BOLSHEVIK No 23-24, 1935, p 103.
36. Sidney and Beatrice (Bebb). "Sovetskiy kommunizm--novaya tsivilizatsiya?" [Soviet Communism--a New Civilization?], Vol II, Moscow, 1937. pp 238-239
37. BOLSHEVIK No 5, 1935, p 76; No 23-24, pp 101-105.
38. Sidney and Beatrice (Bebb). op. cit., p 485.
39. Cited in "Materialy ob'yedinennogo plenuma TsK i TsKK VKP(b) Yanvar' 1933" [Materials of the January 1933 Combined VKP(b) Central Committee and Central Control Commission Plenum], Leningrad, 1933, p 8.
40. E. Aaldo. "Dawn in Russia." New York, 1932, p 272.
41. K. Kautsky. "Demokratie und Diktatur" [Democracy and Dictatorship], Berlin, 1933, p 18.
42. O. Bauer. "Zwischen zwei Weltkriegen?" [Between Two World Wars?], Bratislava, 1936.

43. Ye. Pashukanis. "Proletarskoye gosudarstvo i postroyeniye besklassovogo obshchestva" [The Proletarian State and the Building of a Classless Society], Moscow, 1932; M. Gorin. "15 let" [Fifteen Years], Moscow, Leningrad 1932; A. Stetskiy. "V bor'be za leninskuyu teoriyu" [In the Struggle for Lenin's Theory], Moscow, 1933; A.M. Abramov and A.Ya. Aleksandrov. "Partiya v rekonstruktivnyy period" [The Party in the Period of Reconstruction], Moscow, 1934; N. Berezin. "On Proletarian Democracy and Strengthening the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." BOLSHEVIK No 24, 1934; P. Oleshinskiy. "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Position of the Worker's Family." POD ZNAMENEM MARKSIZMA No 4, 1935; P. Yudin. "Socialism and Democracy." BOLSHEVIK Nos 16 and 17, 1935; A. Leont'yev. "Socialism and Equality." BOLSHEVIK No 5, 1935; and others.
44. G. Terterov. "Trud u nas i u nikh" [Labor With Us and With Them], Moscow, 1932; "Trud v pervoy pyatiletke" [Labor in the 1st Five-Year Plan], Moscow, Leningrad 1934; L. Eventov. "Itogi bor'by dvukh sistem v pervoy pyatiletke" [Results of the Struggle Between the Two Systems During the 1st Five-Year Plan], Moscow, 1934; I. Vareyakis. "Socialism and the Independence of the Masses." BOLSHEVIK No 5, 1935; and others.
45. "The 17th All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) Congress 26 January--10 February 1934. Stenographic record." Moscow, 1934, p 30.
46. "Rezolyutsii VII Vsemirnogo kongressa Kommunisticheskogo Internatsionala" [Resolutions of the 7th World Congress of the Communist International], Moscow, 1935, p 49.
47. The antipeople "new order" of the fascists and their ideology of coercion and preparations for war were unmasked on the pages of the Soviet and foreign communist press. (see, for example, KOMMUNISTICHESKIY INTERNATSIONAL Nos 5, 6 1936, pp 123-124).
48. W. Z. Foster. "Ocherki politicheskoy istorii Ameriki" [Outline of the Political History of America], 2nd edition. Moscow, 1955, p 564.
49. Ibid.
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9642

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NATIONAL

BOOKS ON DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET INTELLIGENTSIA REVIEWED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 84 p 3

[Review by Ye. Babosov, corresponding member of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences, and A. Savastyuk, candidate of philosophical sciences, Minsk, of the books "Partiya i intelligentsiya" [Party and Intelligentsia] by S.A. Fedyukin, Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, 238 pages, and "Sovetskaya intelligentsiya i yeye rol' v stroitel'stve kommunizma" [Soviet Intelligentsia and Its Role in the Construction of Communism], Nauka, Moscow, 1983, 390 pages]

[Text] In each of the stages in the construction of communism, certain aspects of its historical development come to the fore. Thus, in solving the tasks of improving mature socialism, it becomes more and more imperative to consider the movement of our society toward social homogeneity. In this connection two interesting books have recently come out in which are revealed the basic tendencies in the development of the social structure of Soviet society, including work devoted to the intelligentsia.

In the book "Partiya i intelligentsiya" by S.A. Fedyukin, rich factual material shows the line of the Communist Party in relation to the intelligentsia as well as the tasks, forms and methods of its work under various historical conditions. The contents of the book show that the fundamental interests of the intelligentsia unavoidably lead it to Marxist-Leninist ideology and to a profoundly perceived understanding of the necessity of the socialist transformations carried out under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The author notes that under the influence of the working class and as a result of the ideological-educational work of the party, a new type of intellectual appeared--flesh from the flesh of his own people, dedicated to the ideals of communism, a person who is creatively active and politically mature and who thinks on a large scale.

The work as a whole correctly reflects the process of the formation and development of the Soviet intelligentsia, its role in building socialism, and its interrelationship with the party. At the same time, the broad scope of the problem did not permit the author to illuminate to the same extent the question relating to the formation of various categories of intelligentsia.

The collective work "Sovetskaya intelligentsiya i yeye rol' v stroitel'stve kommunizma" is one of the attempts to investigate the place of the intelligentsia in mature socialist society.

The book analyzes the occupational and functional structure of the intelligentsia and the role played by its various occupational categories in resolving the tasks of mature socialism. It shows their contribution to the consolidation of the material base of the society, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the improvement in administration, the complex development of rural areas, and to the improvement in health and education.

The book notes that the determining features of the social portrait of the contemporary intelligentsia are its transition to the positions of the working class, internationalism and patriotism. The composition of our intelligentsia is multinational. Now all nations and nationalities have their own categories of engineering and technical personnel, pedagogic workers, physicians, and representatives of science and culture. Special chapters are dedicated to the role of the intelligentsia in the strengthening of the friendship and international unity of the peoples of the USSR and in consolidating the cohesion of the countries of socialism.

The book does a good job of showing the growing role of the intelligentsia in the multifaceted life of the society. However, by no means does this mean, as our ideological adversaries are trying to assert, that the functions of the leading force for social development are shifting from the working class to the intelligentsia. The socialist intelligentsia assists the working class in carrying out its historical mission and appears as its equal ally, just as it does for the kolkhoz farmers. It is working under the guidance of the Communist Party, which, having become the party of the entire nation, is not ceasing to be the party of the working class.

In some of the book's chapters, unfortunately, the descriptive character of the exposition prevails over theoretical generalizations. At the same time, it is impossible not to recognize that a definite step forward has been made in the investigation of an important subject.

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REGIONAL

ZAYKOV CRITICIZES HANDLING OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 84 pp 1-2

[Excerpts from speech by L.N. Zaykov, first secretary, Leningrad Oblast Party Committee, at a gathering of the aktiv of the Leningrad party organization: "Creativity and Mastery for the Cause of Building Communism"]

[Excerpts] A meeting of the aktiv of the Oblast party organization was held in the Smolnyy yesterday. Taking part were workers from Soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs, and from institutions of literature and the arts.

With great enthusiasm the participants elected an honorary presidium, comprised of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, headed by Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko.

The tasks of the party organizations of Leningrad and the Leningrad Oblast were discussed, based on the speech of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, K.U. Chernenko at the jubilee plenum of the board of the USSR Union of Writers.

Delivering the report was First Secretary of the Leningrad Party Obkom, L.N. Zaykov...

Currently at the center of attention of the Oblast party organization is the practical realization of the program approved by the CPSU Central Committee for the intensification of the Leningrad economy in the 12th Five Year Plan. At the present stage there is no more important matter for us than this. Implementing the "Intensification-90" program should lead toward qualitative changes in the nature of production work and in the people's psychology.

It is understandable that only highly-skilled workers and specialists can operate the most complex equipment, and skilfully put into practice the achievements of science. But another thing is clear as well--that, as is well known, it is always difficult to put new things into practice. It is not easy for anyone to abandon his established skills and habits, and if you will, views.

A significant feature of the "Intensification-90" program is that it is tied closely to the development of future prospects for the economic and social development of the region in the 12th Five Year Plan and with the formulation of a principally new document for us--the Unified General Plan for the

Development of Leningrad and the Oblast for the Next 20 Years. I must add that at many enterprises there is an active search for new progressive forms of organization and control of production, and major economic experiments are being carried out.

These timely topics are being given wide publicity on the pages of Leningrad's press, and in TV and radio broadcasts. Nor have these pressing problems escaped the attention of workers in literature and the arts: many indisputable successes are to their favor. And this can be clearly traced to the constantly deepening and intensifying union of production and creative collectives, of which the writers and artists, the masters of stage and screen can be justly proud. But there is also another side to it. You open a book by a modern author or watch a new film or play, and you won't understand whether their heroes are living under present-day conditions or not. The problems which are raised in them are many years old, and many of them have already been solved.

Please don't misunderstand: there are human values and moral problems which will exist forever. But when they hold extensive discussions in the productions, allegedly concerning very important and significant phenomena, but in actual fact display total ignorance of the essence of the problem, then one is embarrassed for our authors. One cannot but agree with the opinions of the readers and the audiences who did not accept such works I. Shtemler's novel, "Untrennee shosse" [The Highway in the Morning], or the short story "Polina" by N. Katerli; the motion pictures "Ol'ga and Konstantin" (produced by E. Mezentsev) and "Trebuyutsya muzhchini" [Men Wanted] (produced by V. Rodchenko); and the plays, "Posledniy otets" [The Last Father] at the imeni Lensovet Theater; "Smotrite kto prishel!" [Look Who's Come] at the Oblast Theater of Drama and Comedy; and certain others, intended, unfortunately, for those of unenlightened taste.

Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko spoke very clearly of such works: "At times certain authors display on the screen or in their writings only the unhappy fates or mixed-up lives of unstrung, whimpering characters. But people, and especially young people, need ideals which embody the nobility of their goals in life, ideological convictions, respect for work, and courage".

I would like to dwell on this in greater length, because of the fact that successes in economics and in the social sphere are inseparably connected with the level of work on the ideological front. All of us will have to do quite a bit more work in order to actively introduce intensive methods of management, and progressive forms for organizing and controlling labor; and moreover, in all sectors of the national economy. And here there is a wide field of action for the artistic intelligentsiya.

Lately an attraction for the so-called "rustic" themes has appeared in our art. And a great deal has been achieved here. Testifying to this are the books of Fedor Abramov, Sergey Voronin and other masters of prose. But nevertheless, in many works the petty, minor problems of country life are dragged out. Certain authors at time stubbornly refuse to take note of those colossal and objective changes which have taken place and are taking place in the countryside. One does not have to go far to become convinced of this.

Pay a visit to, shall we say, the major animal husbandry complex "Pashskiy", which is near Volkov, where they feed 23,000 cattle at one time; moreover, 330 people in all are required to care for this enormous herd. And the "Sinyavskiy" complex? A million eggs arrive in Leningrad from there every day. Is this on a modern scale or is it not? By the way, many of the creative workers who are present in this hall have seen for themselves what outstanding results the herdsmen are achieving at the "Petrovskiy" Sovkhoz where the leaders of Leningrad's cultural institutions held a seminar.

Of course one may heave a sigh that the countryside is supposedly losing a great deal from the advance of scientific and technical progress. But let us approach the subject objectively. Without the all-embracing mechanization of such traditionally labor-intensive operations as feeding the cattle, harvesting potatoes and vegetables, stockpiling feed--one would not be able to solve the food problem. And here we have the most suitable soil for serious thought and creativity.

At the same time certain people stubbornly refuse to take notice of these irreversible, completely regular and extremely necessary changes in the countryside. Illustrative in this sense is the motion picture film shot recently by the "Lenfil'm" studio, "Zhil-byt doktor" [Once Upon a Time There Was a Doctor] (authors of scenario, D. Pritula and E. Dubrovskiy; producer, V. Sorokin). One truly had to go a long way in order to seek out the two or three neglected construction projects in which the film's action takes place. And the plot of the film is fitting to this situation. It's a pity for an undoubtedly talented producer, shooting his first feature film, to do a poor job; the moreso, since the main underlying idea of the film was interesting--to depict the people who are devoted to their cause and to their native region.

A reasonable question arises: Why did the young cinema crew not receive timely assistance, neither from the management, nor from the studio's artistic council, nor from the administration of the primary creative association, "Lenfil'm"? The party committee and the director's office of the film studio (I.F. Maslennikov, V.E. Aksionov), obviously are taking their time in realigning their activities in the spirit of the requirements of the June Central Committee Plenum. Did the serious conversation at the session of the Oblast party committee bureau not serve as a lesson for them? One would think that the Petrogradskiy raykom of the CPSU, and the communists at "Lenfil'm" would provide a proper, principled evaluation of this fact. And the appropriate departments of the party Obkom and the Leningrad Gorkom should also make the proper conclusions.

In our opinion, creative artistry must necessarily take into consideration the local peculiarities and conditions. Our city is with complete justification considered a great center of science. Concentrated here are more than 300 scientific research institutions and design bureaus, a significant number of academy establishments and VUZ's. They conduct research, and develop projects on nearly all of the most important national economic problems. However, after reading the novel "Idu na grozu" [I'm Going Into the Storm] by Daniil Aleksandrovich Granin it is difficult to recall the truly large-scale work on this theme not only in literature but also in other kinds of art.

The cardinal changes which are presently taking place in national education must not escape notice, especially those changes connected with the reform of general educational and vocational schools. A model Soviet teacher; questions of the moral education of juveniles; or training youth for productive labor--these problems are very appropriate for literature, for the repertoire of the Lenin Komsomol Theater, for the Young People's Theater and for other dramatic collectives as well.

Productions with positive heroes of the Gaydar variety, for example, hardly ever appear on the stage of the Theater for Young Audiences. The majority of the leading men are hurriedly trained. The Leninskiy Raykom of the party is responsible for this situation, along with the artistic administration and the theater's party organization (Z.Ya. Korogodskiy, the head producer, and A.Yu. Khochinskiy, secretary of the party bureau).

In this connection, I would like to take note of the fact that there are cultural establishments in every region of the city and the oblast. We have 17 theaters in operation, 7 modern concert halls, nearly 380 clubs, 70 movie theaters and more than 300 cinema units, which can serve 120,000 viewers at a time. Also, there are 70 museums and exhibit halls, 2,400 libraries, and more than 40 gardens and parks. You must agree that these are exciting figures. But far from every party gorkom and raykom, or the ispolkoms of local Soviets pay the same demanding and careful attention to their work as they do to the enterprises in the sphere of production.

It is for this reason, without a doubt, that the club establishments are used far below their capacity, and plays and concerts quite often take place in half-empty halls. And is it not alarming that this year fewer viewers have visited the city's movie theaters than a year ago?

Unfortunately, quite often this vacuum is filled with programs which are weak both from a professional and from an ideological point of view, simply for the sake of fulfilling the plan. A striking example of this are the vocal-instrumental ensembles. The appearance of a vast number of groups (about 1,800 have been registered in the city and in the oblast)--which outwardly resemble one another and which perform either mediocre or in a number of cases ideologically immature compositions--are becoming a typical phenomenon. This spontaneous activity, unfortunately, caught the majority of the organizations napping who are supposed to consider, control and direct their activities. And here we have the right to present the most serious complaints to the Komsomol organizations and trade union committees, as well as to the Leningrad organization of the RSFSR Union of Composers.

Professional variety shows should present exemplary musical performances. However, this does not always occur. Have many interesting and popular names appeared in variety shows in recent years? No. And it is not a matter of a lack of talent; it is the fact that the administration of Lenkontsert (K.P. Sadovnikov, director; d.I. Timofeyev, artistic administrator) is slack in its work with the variety show casts and performers. The Kuybyshev Raykom of the party also has something to think about.

No matter which aspects of ideological or political educational work we speak of today, the international situation is undoubtedly making its mark on all of our activity. Presently, as the world has come into close contact with the genuine nuclear threat which emanates from the imperialist circles, questions of stepping up a counterpropaganda campaign come to the forefront. The western press, TV and radio are subjecting the high ideals of the Soviet people to public dishonor; they are distorting the course of historical development and the principles of socialist morality; but they are silent on the indisputable advantages of our system. And after all, we possess the very widest capabilities for not only resisting western propaganda, but also for carrying out an active offensive campaign in this direction.

An extremely extensive sociological research project was recently conducted, which once again convincingly asserted that the people of Leningrad, as all Soviet people, are living much better today than before; they look to the future with optimism, to tomorrow with confidence. We need such research very much. However, a major research group which has been commissioned to conduct such research, the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is permitting serious errors in its work. A number of the institute's administrators received a severe reprimand at yesterday's session of the bureau of the party Obkom. This was reported in the press today.

We possess a large arsenal of resources for counterpropaganda work. The total circulation of Leningrad newspapers has reached 1.5 million per day. Almost 200 hours of radio and TV broadcasting are conducted each week. At the same time, our journalists do not always skilfully present the achievements of the Soviet people, the labor success of the people of Leningrad, and the advantages of the Soviet way of life. The skilled technicians of the documentary film industry in Leningrad have a certain obligation to the audience. Also wrongfully neglected is the genre of political satire, which sharply and skilfully reacts to international problems of current interest.

I would like to place special emphasis on the great responsibility bestowed upon the literary and artistic workers who represent our country abroad. To be genuinely concerned about the high international prestige of Soviet culture means to take a demanding approach to the casts and the performers who take part in tours abroad. There must be strict control over selecting the programs and works which we address to foreign audiences and readers.

The great advantage of Soviet literary and artistic figures consists of the fact that they are united in a collective of like-minded people. Creative unions and their party organizations are called upon to mould the civic character of the contemporary artist, to concern themselves with creating an atmosphere of goodwill and--at the same time--mutually high standards.

Guided by the CPSU Central Committee decree, "On the Work of the Party Organization of the Belorussian State Academic Theater imeni Yanka Kupala," the Leningrad Department of the All-Russian Theater Society must take concrete measures to improve their repertory policy. One cannot but be alarmed by the fact that in recent years they have put on only isolated performances considered eventful in our cultural life; while their everyday

standard is the so-called average production. The lack of brilliant plays, especially on a contemporary theme, and the puny efforts the theaters display in searching for and surrounding themselves with talented young dramatists, encourage the producers to take an easier, compromise route, yielding to low standards of taste.

In this connection it is gratifying to note that among the artistic intelligentsiya it would seem that the forgotten concept of "social demands" is receiving a positive response, with respect to the question of the deeply held perception of the need for a genuinely creative person to express his attitude toward objective reality. A vivid example of just such an approach to one's creative obligation is the practice of the Gor'kiy Bol'shoy Drama Theater, which has staged such splendid performances as "Perechityvaya zanovo" [Reading for the Second Time], "Tikhiy Don" [Quiet Flows the Don] and "Optimisticheskaya tragediya" [An Optimistic Tragedy].

But we are disturbed by the small number of artistically significant performances on the works of the Russian classics. It is in our opinion entirely unacceptable for producers to modernize universally-acclaimed values under the cloak of the classical title of a performance.

The administration of the Leningrad organization of the RSFSR Artists' Union must display increased self-discipline. Group and thematic shows are not always organized in a purposeful manner. Quite often personal bias takes the upper hand. Works are held up for display which are harmful on the ideological plane, and antiartistic in nature.

Everyone is well aware of the fact that the city's artistic life is supposed to be directed by the Main Administration for Culture at the Ispolkom of the Lensovet (headed by B.M. Skvortsov). At the same time the level of the work of this reliable organ does not yet live up to its great rights and capabilities. In any case, the shortcomings in organizing repertoire, in organizing tours and exhibits in our city, and in evaluating new plays and programs, are directly associated with the low level of responsibility in a number of departments of this administration.

A few words about our periodical publications: in 1982 the bureau of the oblast party committee thoroughly analyzed the activities of the magazines ZVEZDA, NEVA, and AVRORA, for the purpose of increasing the ideological-artistic level of the publications in the light of the requirements of the decree of the party Central Committee, "On the Creative Associations of Literary-Artistic Magazines with the Practice of Communist Construction".

One must say that the editorial staffs have done quite a bit to improve their work. But it is too early to rest contented. As before, the required attention is not being devoted to selection and education of the editorial personnel, on the part of the secretary of the board of the Leningrad writers organization as well.

Many of the shortcomings recounted above also apply to the RSFSR Union of Architects. The principal shortcoming is in their willingness, where necessary, to display adherence to principle and steadfastness in their

positions. The lack of business contacts between the architects and the artists, and their interest in joint action for creating an attractive appearance for the new micro-districts--testifies to the low level of personal responsibility, of setting high standards for oneself, and of demandingness.

As is well-known, Marxist-Leninist criticism must be the fundamental method for influencing artistic creativity. "And this means," noted Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, "to maintain a frank and principled dialogue with the people in creative work. It means that under no circumstances should one turn aside from the critical problems which are disturbing the artists, shifting responsibility for their solution to the so-called higher instances. And it means being able to convince and if necessary, re-convince the person one is talking to".

Adhering to the principles of the party line in the area of artistic creativity, criticism cannot become reconciled to the fact that, for example, in certain works events are depicted which deviate from historical truth. A serious shortcoming of many statements in our newspapers and magazines on questions of literature, theater, music, motion pictures and the fine arts, is the lack of class analysis on the development trends of Soviet and world art. We have not yet succeeded in outliving manifestations of cliquishness, of the artificially exaggerated passion which surrounds certain works, including those by authors who have oriented their creativity toward western ideological trends. This is one of the most dangerous trends in the practice of artistic criticism, and it must be fought in the most decisive manner.

Achieving mastery, and formulating an artist's political culture are inseparably connected with increasing the level of party leadership of the creative collectives, with the intensification of the leading role of the communists who work here. In those places where the party bureau has active influence on creative life and approaches its analysis of the results achieved in a demanding manner, its success is evident. Henceforth, communists in the artistic councils must continue to occupy a principled, active position.

Party raykoms and gorkoms are called upon to make a more profound study of the situation in the creative milieu. They are obligated to take a more active position in supporting and disseminating the positive experience of party influence on the ideological-artistic process, and to support the strengthening of the association of the artistic intelligentsiya with practical economic and cultural construction.

And, finally, on the training and education of the creative cadres. We have a certain system in operation in this direction. However, certain of its links are, as they say, slipping. Specifically, the leadership and the party bureaus at the Institute of the Theater, Music and Cinematography and at a number of the humanities faculties at Leningrad University, have not organized the training and educational process in a sufficiently effective manner. We have been forced to beef up the administration of the journalism

department, where the training of future press workers is clearly at odds with everyday editorial practice. The Dzerzhinskiy and Vasileostrovskiy party raykoms are obliged to do everything to ensure that the measures taken produce the required results.

Work with creative young people is of key significance. It is namely with them that the future of Soviet art is connected. After the publication of the well-known CPSU Central Committee decree a great deal was done to establish conditions for discovery of creative gifts. The traditional review, "Youth, Mastery, Modernity", promotes increased activity by the budding cultural figures.

But you know just as well as I, that talent grows stronger only in an atmosphere of lively participation in the affairs and concerns of the people. In our opinion the practice of prestigious masters becoming mentors for those taking their first steps in the arts is not properly supported and disseminated. The positive experience of tutorship, born in Leningrad, should receive new development and new quality in the artistic collectives. And the large group of independent writers, artists and musicians requires no less close attention, assistance and support from the creative unions and leading figures of literature and art.

The study of history was and still is an important instrument for teaching citizenship, Soviet patriotism and internationalism. This is especially important at present, when we are approaching the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory. To preserve and transmit to posterity the memory of this painful and heroic period in the history of our state; of the people who at the cost of their own lives defended the honor the freedom and the independence of the Motherland--this is what has always stirred and must stir the conscience of the true artist.

Leningrad literary and artistic figures are preparing a proper greeting for the jubilee Victory Celebration, as is the entire country. By 9 May 1985, a majestic granite obelisk will be raised on Vosstaniya Square in honor of the Hero City, Leningrad. Work will be totally completed on the "Breaking the Blockade" diorama. Composers will be dedicating their traditional "Leningrad Musical Spring" festival to the 40th anniversary of the Victory. Artists have worked up an extensive program for All-Union Fine Arts Week, which is to be presented on Leningrad's soil. And there are many interesting plans and ideas. These must all be properly brought to fruition. And the party organizations must take a hand in the supervision of this process. It is precisely the communists who are obligated to mobilize the creative collectives for harmonious, concerted efforts.

There must be increased effort in the main direction of ideological work--increasing the labor and political activity of the people of Leningrad. Attention should be focused on the spreading and creative development of a mass patriotic movement under the slogan, "Growth of Production Volume--Entirely by Virtue of Technical Progress, Maximum Capacity of Equipment and Economy of Resources".

Presently we have favorable conditions for successfully completing the five-year plan. In recent years we have been making noticeably better progress both in the economic and in the social areas. In these conditions it is especially important to utilize to the fullest all our accumulated experience in mass political work, in order to help the party and the nation unconditionally fulfill the intense state tasks and the high socialist obligations of 1984 and the five-year plan as a whole.

We must apply maximum efforts for increasing discipline and responsibility in every labor collective. The measures adopted by the Central Committee of the party in this direction are well known. However, the great work on strengthening the state of organization and order has only begun. Only the reserves closest to hand have been put into action. One should always remember that this is not a temporary campaign, but the consistent line of the party, worked out in consideration of not only domestic conditions, but also the contemporary international situation.

And while bringing this course to fruition in practical matters, one must always be guided by the instructions of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, on the fact that "Education is a long and difficult matter. Here one cannot get by with a decree; one must take a patient and skillful approach. This we are doing, and this we will continue to do. The matter requires one to be very careful, but firm".

Comrades!

A crucial period is approaching in the life of every communist and every Soviet citizen. Our party is preparing for its 27th Congress.

We clearly understand the short-term and long-term tasks for economic and cultural construction. An important role in their solution belongs to the workers on the ideological front, including literary and artistic figures.

Permit me to express my firm conviction, that the many thousands of the Leningrad intelligentsiya, in undertaking the undeviating fulfillment of the instructions of the party Central Committee and Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, will apply all their efforts to completing the noble cause of communist education of the Soviet people, and through their inspired labors will in every possible way support the growth of the economic and defensive might of the Land of the Soviets.

9006

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REGIONAL

KOMSOMOL MISMANAGEMENT AGGRAVATES ROSTOV LABOR SHORTAGE

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian carries a 1,500-word, two-part article by A. Protsenko under the rubric "The Life of the Young: Key Construction Projects." Part one of the article, entitled "They Were Called, But Not Expected" appears on 27 November on page 2 and part two, entitled "A Trip Without a Guarantee" appears the next day on page 3.

Protsenko describes serious shortcomings in the organization of Komsomol detachments sent to work in the Rostov Oblast. From February to August 1984 over 1,650 young workers were sent to the area from all over the Soviet Union. By the end of October, 768 had left. According to the article, the "return migration" continues.

Protsenko sees this as the result of a combination of factors: immature, unskilled workers and inadequate preparation for the workers at the construction sites. He divides blame for the situation between Komsomol organizations which dispatched the workers, and the organization which requested them, Glavsevkavstroy [Main Administration for Construction in the Northern Caucasus].

Those running the construction sites complain that young people arrive for work "without the necessary specialties, without being used to work—so that they run back under the warm parental roof." In addition, Komsomol organizations do not adequately screen workers to weed out those with low moral qualities. Over 80 infractions of the law were committed in one area in an 8-month period by the young workers.

While Protsenko admits that only 11.6 percent of the Komsomol workers possess necessary construction skills, he finds Glavsevkavstroy's request for only "the best of the best" unrealistic in a country where skilled construction workers are in short supply everywhere. He also finds that Glavsevkavstroy has mismanaged the workers it has received. "People leave because they are poorly supplied with work, necessary housing and living conditions are not created for them, and they are looked upon as temporary and not very welcome guests." Young people are promised work at key construction sites, and arrive only to be sent to work on ordinary and far less attractive objectives. Workers complain, "We could build panel homes or cowsheds in our own republic.... Why did we have to travel so far?" While Protsenko finds Glavsevkavstroy chiefly to blame, he believes that the Komsomol "does not always show enough principle to stand up for the interests of the volunteers."

According to the article, Glavsevkavstroy makes little attempt to train the young workers or to help them to adjust to their new surroundings. When Komsomol detachments arrive in Rostov Oblast they are often split up into small groups. If they were left together, Protsenko believes "comradeship would help many to overcome the natural difficulties of living in a new place."

Protsenko cites another example of poor preparation on the part of Glavsevkavstroy. A detachment of workers was sent from Turkmenistan. The workers were left in one group, but they were introduced into their new work surroundings "any which way—the management did not think to prepare the collective for the fact that people were arriving who had their own habits, customs, many with a poor knowledge of the Russian language." As a result, most of the workers returned to Turkmenistan.

Finally, Protsenko reports that most young people join Komsomol detachments hoping to acquire an apartment eventually and start families. However, unlike the BAM zone, Rostov is not an area where a great deal of new housing is being built. Apartments in the oblast are in short supply, and a young worker stands little chance of obtaining one. The dormitory-type housing supplied by Glavsevkavstroy is not suitable for families.

According to Protsenko, the labor problem in Rostov is especially acute because workers already in the region are recruited to work in other areas of the country, "The oblast is one of those regions from which one can take people, not because there are surplus labor resources there, but because of the large number of people who want to leave there for other places. Every year the flow of people of working age from the towns of the Rostov Oblast is several tens of thousands of people..... Being unable to decrease the migration, we are trying to at least direct part of that migration not just anywhere, but to regions that are most important for our country."

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LITHUANIAN READERS DISCUSS MVD WORK IN KLAIPEDA

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 9 Oct 84 p 2

[Article: "To Strengthen Public Order Together"]

[Text] Open Letter Day was recently held in Klaipeda. It was organized by the party gorkom and the editorial offices of SOVETSKAYA LITVA and SOVETSKAYA KLAYPEDA. A month prior to this the newspapers proposed to readers to write about their comments and proposals relating to questions of strengthening public order in the city. Then the hall of the Western Ship Repair Plant was filled with representatives of the labor collectives of this and other enterprises and organizations of Klaipeda, party, trade-union and Komsomol activists, members of voluntary people's patrols, operational detachments and personnel of law-enforcement organs.

Of course, the authors of the received letters also came here. They were answered by the gorispolkom deputy chairman A. Zhukauskas and Klaipeda's public prosecutor I. Lautsyus, the deputy chief of the Internal Affairs Administration I. Milovanov and the chairman of the city people's court S. Doda, the chief of the municipal services administration K. Markyavichyus, the chief of the 2nd Production Housing Administration A. Zulonas and the chief of a department of the Trade Administration Z. Bankauskayte. As a result a big, interesting discussion took place on rights and morality and on measures for intensifying the struggle for discipline and undeviating observance of rules of socialist communal life.

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"In law, not only its severity but its justness understood in its broadest sense are important to us. And this is evident in the fact that all are equal before the law, and that our legal guidelines, our legislation are geared toward the protection of the interests of the working people, toward the development of their labor and social activity". K. U. Chernenko.

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Are Stricter Laws Necessary?

Order in a city.... A large, multi-dimensional concept. It includes a broad range of questions relating to our everyday existence and our mode of life. The mood of city dwellers, their labor and political activities and readiness to carry out those major social-economic tasks which are placed before them to a large extent depend on the state of public order. This is why, party gorkom secretary N. Andryulene emphasized, in opening the readers' meeting, party and soviet organizations of the river port, administrative organs and specialized formations of the population every day devote attention to overcoming negative phenomena in the life of city dwellers, strengthening order in every possible way and educating citizens in a spirit of respect for laws and a right understanding of their constitutional rights and duties. This is why the reading public of Klaipeda has enthusiastically responded to the idea of holding an Open Letter Day on questions of law and order. Almost every letter contained the thought: the struggle against such social phenomena as drunkenness, parasitism, hooliganism, attempts at taking social property and personal property of people, everyday lack of discipline and violations of labor and public discipline constitutes a universal task and this struggle is the duty not only of law-enforcement organization personnel but also of every conscientious citizen.

But, as evidenced by these same letters, particularly those of Comrades A. Yushkyavichyus, S. Petkyavichyus and others, the opinion is rather widely prevalent of the necessity of making more severe punitive policy in regard to malicious violations of law and order and introducing more severe laws. Commenting on proposals of this character, speakers explained that our laws are good as they are: they are sufficiently strict and reasonably humane. It is only necessary to observe them strictly, and to utilize them more fully and skillfully to maintain order.

What unfortunately happens sometimes? Seemingly, there is no lack in indignation over the acts of speculators, brawlers and thieves. And when occasionally some one of them is made criminally liable, the labor collective frequently singles out... the public defender rather than the accuser.

Ortake the problem of reeducation of people leading a parasitic way of life, which is the subject of letters by Comrades D. Volodko, N. Yekaytis and others. The success of its solution obviously also depends first of all not on the introduction of stricter sanctions but on the effective utilization of already existing legal norms. It is possible and it is necessary to register every idler and, finding a job for him, to use the entire force of the collective to "remake" his character, habits and views on life. But, for the sake of fairness, it must be admitted that by and large heads of collectives--both economic and social--try not to hire loafers or at the first convenient opportunity try to get rid of them. At the same time, they do not inform internal-affairs organs about the firing of such persons. So these "reeducatees" wander from place to place and slip away from permanent monitoring. Is it possible under such a state of affairs to say that conditions and opportunities for their rehabilitation are actually created for

them? That the Law on Labor Collectives, which underscores their tremendous educational potential is being fully fulfilled?

In almost all the letters, including from the group of workers of the Zapadnyy ShipRepair Plant and residents of Nakhimov and Ushakov streets, reference is made to the concern which the broad masses experience in regard to drunkenness. It inflicts palpable harm on production and the well-being of many families, cripples people's lives, nurtures crime and prevents people from peacefully living, working and resting.

And yet our laws and instructions provide measures for effective struggle against this evil. In the city, certain restrictions have been introduced in the sale of alcoholic beverages. But they by themselves do not solve the problem. Persons speaking at the meeting admitted that the requirement of the law--to view the appearance of any person in a state of inebriation in a public place as a violation of the law--has of late been observed poorly. Here and there people tolerate (and thus again violate legal norms) drunkenness in the work place. Legal resources are not being adequately utilized for sending drunkards and alcoholics for compulsory treatment. Justice organs do not always emphasize in their decisions that the state of inebriation is a circumstance aggravating the guilt of defendants.

Consequently, there is no need to make the laws more harsh. We need to better execute those laws that do exist.

"My Militia Protects Me...."

This is what the poet said in emphasizing the noble labor, so necessary to the people, of the guardians of law and order. The burden of militia personnel is not light. They do not have any calm days. The city's militia solely in connection with everyday conflicts receives more than 8,000 calls as a yearly average. And while paying tribute of respect to the courage, diligence and honesty of militia members, many readers, for example, like A. Palayma, N. Demidov, G. Chetvergov and others made many complaints concerning the services of internal-affairs organs. Some reproached them for instances of inadequate effectiveness, others for instances of slackness and still others cited examples of an inappropriate approach to one event or another. Well, these things do occur. Representatives of the Internal-Affairs Administration did not try to justify themselves, they described what measures were being taken for improving the operation of the militia.

Political organs created in the Internal-Affairs Administration headed party political and ideological educational work among militia personnel. Their cadre makeup is being reinforced with communists, Komsomol members and other representatives of labor collectives. Through reduction of administrative subdivisions, operational units, the Criminal Investigation Department, the Department for Combatting Thefts of Socialist Property and Speculation, the Service for Preservation of Public Order, and the staff of precinct militia inspectors are being strengthened.

Incidentally, it is necessary to connect a certain amount of the recent quantitative growth of law violations to the fact that changes have also taken

place in the practice of registration and reaction of the militia to notifications and reports of citizens. Internal-affairs organs are trying to provide objective statistics of law violations while not fearing to "spoil" the general picture and reporting.

More attention has started to be paid to combatting mismanagement, wasting of state resources, official abuses and bribe taking. A curious example was cited. After the militia, together with people's controllers and public-order volunteers, had conducted a raid on enterprises for the purpose of verifying utilization of fuel, the daily sale of gasoline at the city's filling stations increased 1.5-fold! It turned out that the channels for servicing personal motor vehicles with state fuel were covered. Personnel of the Department for Combatting Thefts of Social Property and Speculation are adopting decisive measures for putting a stop to thefts at enterprises of the food, meat-and-dairy and fish industry. In this strenuous, very difficult work, internal-affairs organs count on active cooperation by the public and labor collectives.

Personnel of the Criminal Investigation Department and precinct inspectors have been assigned a task--to intensify surveillance-preventive work in the sphere of everyday life of people and to involve on a broader scale of independent organizations of the public in prevention of law violations. A decisive struggle against crime by minors and work with difficult youngsters and "unfortunate" families are to be continued with combined efforts.

Since the beginning of the year, the city's militia organs have initiated tens of criminal cases relating to speculation and hundreds of middlemen have been punished according to administrative and disciplinary procedures. But, as the editorial mail shows, there are still more than enough persons looking for easy gains. In order to intensify the struggle against them, it is proposed to activate the participation of specialized subunits of the voluntary people's patrol. Incidentally, the manpower of patrol members should be better used along all lines.

If You Are a Patrol Member

In Klaipeda there are about 12,000 members of the voluntary people's patrols. More than 200 persons with red armbands go on the streets every evening and make their contribution to preservation of public order. Just in the course of a half year, they have arrested almost 9,000 law violators. Why is it that many letters, including in particular those of Yu. Stakhova, V. Navakauskas and others, voice dissatisfaction with the work of patrol members? Because they expect even better, more efficient and not formal work of them. So that they stroll less along crowded streets and look more often in secluded places, in yards and residential blocks. So that they consider themselves as patrol members not only the time they are on duty and help to establish order in the microrayons where they live. In a word so that they conduct themselves like, for example, most patrol members of the Zapadnyy Ship Repair Plant whose methods were described at the readers' meeting by the deputy general director, who is also the commander of the voluntary people's patrol, K. Linyauskas and the chief of staff of four plant patrols Yu. Zamyatin.

The meeting's participants learned that the gorispolkom, having generalized the experience of such patrols and taken into consideration readers' wishes, intends to revise the patrol routes of members of the people's voluntary patrol for the purpose of bringing them closer to "hot spots." It was also recognized necessary to establish better defined cooperation between patrols and the militia, while participation in joint patrolling will be made a basic form of duty for members of the voluntary people's patrol. Specialized patrol units will be created for work exclusively in the residential sector. Then precinct inspectors of the militia will have, as is proposed by many readers, a permanent aktiv of helpers in the preservation of public order at places of residence. It was recognized advisable to reduce to a minimum in patrolling of members of the voluntary people's patrol the participation of women, concentrating their efforts on aiding inspectorates for affairs of minors and on work with "difficult" youngsters. It is proposed to renew the staff of the city headquarters of the voluntary people's patrol, to introduce detailed weekly information on the operation of patrols and to intensify work of councils of public centers for the preservation of order. In short, we refer to boosting the efficiency of use of each patrol member.

And we think this is quite correct. Participation in a patrol is a responsible task, and a difficult one, sometimes even dangerous. This is a social assignment which requires of a person the mobilization of his spiritual and moral qualities, his resources and energy, staying power and courage. Not to speak of expenditures of personal time. And, of course, it is a pity should these outlays be unproductive, should a large share of one's efforts go to nought.

Concerning Different Things

At every enterprise and on most farms and organizations of the port city, there are comrades' courts and commissions for combatting drunkenness and councils for prevention of law violations. The improvement of their operation, as Comrades V. Murashov and V. Kuznetsov emphasized in their letters and speakers at the meeting, constitutes a reserve for strengthening the preservation of public order.

It is difficult to overestimate, it was stated in letters of Klaipeda's residents and in addresses at the meeting, the role of organs of people's control in this important matter. The thoughts and proposals of the participants of the Open Letter Day in Klaipeda were linked, as it were, with the wishes that were clearly formulated at the recent All-Union Conference of People's Controllers in Moscow and with the directives in the speech of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko who put in an appearance there.

We have sharply intensified the struggle for strengthening of legality... for general organization and discipline," Comrade K.U. Chernenko. He continued: "It is necessary to lay stress on studying most thoroughly the causes of difficulties, abuses... and on this basis to collectively work for measures capable of preventing negative phenomena."

Yes, people's controllers in cooperation with other services of the militia, specialized units of people's patrols and other public units can and must

multiply their efforts in the struggle against bribery and thefts, speculation and official abuses.

Law preservation and public organs, particularly those of people's control have the duty of operating as a single front against persons parasitizing on the body of society and against their amoral and sometimes even criminal nature--it was emphasized at the meeting in the hall of the Western Plant.

It would also be good, readers discuss in their letters, to create at each house-management office a children's club where youngsters could take part in technical, musical, dance and sports groups. The problem is that so far there are no suitable quarters or funds for carrying out this idea.

Readers have also been interested in the following questions: would it not be possible for the people's court to examine civil affairs in nonworking time? This is a complex and hardly resolvable problem. The fact is that the work of the court is connected with the work of other law-preservation institutions--the procuracy, the militia and the juridical services.

Incidentally, it was stated at the meeting that certain citizens at times are not sufficiently vigilant. An example was cited: construction materials lie scattered about near a multistory building under construction. And no one could care less. But, there are those who do benefit, for the "free" property gradually gets removed. Or cases of another kind. This year there have been in Klaipeda 200 thefts of motor vehicles or of items from them. In the majority of cases, this occurred solely because of carelessness on the part of owners of the machines.

Persons participating in the work of the meeting included Lithuanian SSR Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs V. Zhyamgulis, deputy editor of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LITVA L. Maslyakov, members of the collegium of the procuracy of the republic--I. Martinaytis and of the Lithuanian SSR Ministry of Justice--B. Sviderskis. Inasmuch as it was practically impossible to answer all the questions of the readers, many comments and proposals are in need of additional study and go beyond the confines of the city, Comrade Zhyamgulis said, but all of them will be examined in the immediate future and all questions will be answered.

In conclusion Party Gorkom Secretary I. Andryulene thanked the readers for their active life position and for their sincere desire to help in strengthening public order, combatting law violations and crime and in improving legal educational work among the port city's population.

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